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GRAND LINCOLN AND JOHNSON
RATIFICATION MEETING,

AT

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., JUNE 15, 1864.

THE NATIONAL UNION LEAGUE
OF AMERICA, IN THE FIELD!

SPEECHES OF HON. J. M. EDMUNDS, HON. WM. D. KELLEY,
HON. HENRY S. LANE, HON. J. W. PATTERSON, HON.
JACOB M. HOWARD, HON. C. B. DENIO, HON. A
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PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.

The action of the Baltimore Union Convention by which Abraham Lincoln was placed in nomination for President, and Andrew Johnson for Vice President, received the earnest endorsement of the Union League, assembled at Baltimore on the 8th of June last.

The National Executive Committee of the League, resident in Washington, City, D. C., assembled on the 10th of June, and after full consideration, deemed it expedient that a ratification meeting should be held without delay in the Capitol of the Nation.

The following call immediately appeared in the daily papers of the city:

RATIFICATION MEETING.—A mass meeting to ratify the nominations of Abraham Lincoln for President, and Andrew Johnson for Vice President of the United States, will be held on the south side of the Patent Office on Wednesday evening, June 15, 1864, under the auspices of the Union League of America.

Able speakers will address the meeting, and appropriate proceedings be had. All are invited to attend.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Hon. J. M. EDMUNDS,
Hon. GREEN ADAMS,
W. O. STODDARD,
Rev. BYRON SUNDERLAND,
J. S. BROWN,
Hon. JOSEPH H. BARRETT,
Hon. A. W. RANDALL,
Hon. WM. A. COOK,

Hon. J. W. FORNEY,
W. R. IRWIN,
LEWIS CLEPHANE,
Hon. D. P. HOLLOWAY,
GEORGE W. KELLOGG,
Hon. GEORGE W. McLELLAN,
Hon. WM. P. DOLE,
Hon. EDW. A. ROLLINS,

Hon. A. C. RICHARDS.

Appropriate committees were appointed, and every effort put forth to render the meeting one of more than common interest and influence.

The open space on the south front of the Patent Office was selected as the place for holding it.

THE MEETING.

DESCRIPTION AND OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The evening of the meeting was fair and beautiful—an immense crowd assembled—the proceedings were in the highest degree entertaining—all were delighted.

The daily *Chronicle* thus described the locality and assemblage :

The southern front of the Patent Office was resplendent with illuminated windows, with transparencies exhibiting mottoes, and with the drapery of flags. The front of the Post Office Building, opposite, was also brilliantly illuminated, and the broad intervening space was filled with a vast multitude of people from an early hour of the evening, where the flight of skyrockets and the superb music of the band notified the people to assemble, until half past eleven o'clock.

The centre transparency, festooned with evergreens, bore the names of "Lincoln and Johnson." Other transparencies bore these mottoes :

"Emancipation Proclamation—For this act I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

"America wants no friend who, in war, condemns the justice of her cause; all such are traitors."—*Douglas*.

"I propose to move immediately on your works."—*Grant*.

"If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong."—*Lincoln*.

"You should be treated as traitors, tried as traitors, and hung as traitors."—*Johnson*.

The right hand side of the steps was reserved for the speaker's platform, above which sprang an arch made of gas jets, while beneath it, in illuminated jets shone the word "Union." The band occupied the other side of the portico, and around each position were draped national flags and blazed smaller transparencies, with such mottoes as : "Union and Victory;" "One Nation, one Destiny;" "Honor the Dead;" "The Union Forever;" "Sherman and Thomas;" "Remember the Fallen;" "Spades to the Rear;" "Grant;" "Meade;" "Farragut;" "Dahlgren."

The *Evening Star*, after giving a glowing description of the arrangements and exercises, says :

There was a large police force in attendance, but so well-behaved was the large crowd that the police did not have much work to do, except to open passages when ladies were passing to and fro.

The demonstration was undoubtedly the largest and most imposing of the kind ever known in Washington.

The account of the *National Intelligencer* is highly eulogistic. It is as follows, viz :

RATIFICATION MEETING.—A very large—we might say an immense—and animated meeting of citizens and strangers, with a large complement of ladies, took place last night in front of the Patent Office, in pursuance of an invitation of the Union League

Association, to express their approval of the nominations made at the late Baltimore Convention for President and Vice President of the United States.

Salvos of artillery, the enlivening strains of martial music, and a profuse display of rockets announced the time for convening the meeting, which was organized at early candlelight and continued until eleven o'clock. During that time the assemblage was entertained and edified by a number of speeches, which were well received and elicited frequent outbursts of applause.

An unusual and very striking feature distinguished this occasion in the illumination of the great building before which the meeting took place—the windows of the vast front of the splendid edifice in all three stories being in a blaze of light, which almost paled the brightness of the full moon. It was indeed the most perfect and striking illumination we have ever seen.

The description of the *National Republican* was in terms no less eulogistic.

ORGANIZATION.

The meeting was called to order by Hon. D. P. Holloway, who, in behalf of the Executive Committee, proposed the following officers:

President—Hon. J. M. Edmunds.

Vice Presidents—Hon. J. R. Elvans, Hon. A. C. Richards, J. S. Brown, Esq., Hon. D. P. Holloway, Hon. J. H. Barrett, J. F. Sharretts, Esq., Daniel Kalbfus, Esq., James A. Magruder, Esq., A. M. Swan, Esq., Hon. Lewis Clephane, Major David Taylor.

Secretaries—W. R. Irwin, Esq., W. O. Stoddard, Esq., M. E. N. Howell, Esq.

They were unanimously elected.

SPEECH OF HON. J. M. EDMUNDS.

The President then stepped forward and spoke as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: Under ordinary circumstances I would deem it a high honor to be designated as the presiding officer of this vast and intelligent assembly of the loyal people of the United States. That honor is rendered doubly dear to me by the importance of the occasion which has called you together—an occasion which has no precedent in the past, and which, in all its surroundings and issues, cannot be repeated in the future.

Here, in the midst of events which are without parallel in history, in the very vortex of domestic strife, before which all the other contests of modern times shrink into insignificance, we have assembled to take part in a movement which, in its results, is to determine, once and for all, the strength and flexibility of American institutions, the power and adaptability of our representative system, and the real capacity of man for self-government, and, as a consequence of these, the preservation of true liberty of speech, of the press, and of man.

What other nation on the globe could, in the midst of a conflict in which a million of men, its own people, are engaged, wisely and peaceably renew or change its civil administration? What other nation would attempt it? Yet this is the work upon which we are about to enter. The first step has already been taken, and you are here to-night to say whether, thus far, it meets your approval.

The representatives of the loyal sentiment of the nation have wisely, as we think, de-

terminated to adhere to the great man and statesman who, for three years, has so nobly and ably breasted the storm of rebellion, and found means, in the thickest of the conflict, to enlarge rather than diminish the basis and the guaranties of human freedom.

And with him, on the same platform of principles, they have placed a man of kindred emotions, whose devotion to the Union has never been doubted or surpassed, and who boldly asks the sons and daughters of his own, a slave State, "What right have you, what right have I, to hold a fellow-man in bondage, except for crime?"

But of these representative men and their principles, and the importance of their election to the position for which they have been nominated, you will hear more fully from the distinguished gentlemen who are to address you.

Thanking you for your presence and for the honor conferred upon me, the meeting is now prepared to proceed with its proper business.

Upon the conclusion of this introductory speech, which was listened to with marked attention, and well received, the Hon. J. H. Barrett, on behalf of the Committee on Resolutions, offered the following, which were received with enthusiastic cheering, and unanimously adopted:

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That we heartily approve and will earnestly sustain, by every honorable effort, the nominations made by the Union National Convention, which assembled at Baltimore on the 7th instant.

Resolved, That in the renomination of Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency, in accordance with the clearly manifested will of the loyal people of the nation, an assurance has been given to the world that the destructive civil war, begun by ambitious traitors, shall not end until the rebellion and its cause are utterly and finally overthrown.

Resolved, That in the nomination of Andrew Johnson for the Vice Presidency, we see not only a just recognition of unshaken fidelity to the Union, but also, as in the presidential nomination, a determination that true and reliable Union men, and none others, shall hereafter occupy the high places of the nation.

Resolved, That we cordially endorse the platform of principles set forth by the Union National Convention, and that on this basis of policy under the banner of Lincoln and Johnson we confidently look for such a popular triumph in November next as will insure the just and legitimate results of decisive victory in the field over armed rebellion.

SPEECH OF HON. WM. D. KELLEY.

After the adoption of the Resolutions, Judge Edmunds introduced to the audience Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, whose appearance on the platform was greeted with great cheering.

He addressed the audience as follows:

My first duty, ladies and fellow-citizens, it seems to me, is to thank the committee of arrangements for having given Pennsylvania the foremost position in the duties of to-night. However feeble the representative of that State may be, they have done well in giving her the foremost place, for as she goes, so goes the Union. [Applause.] And on the night of the first Tuesday in November next, the banner of Lincoln and Johnson will float over her victorious legions. [Great cheering.] Lincoln and Johnson are names that are dear to the people of that State. They are well known and highly honored there, and the cause they represent is that lying nearest to the heart of her people and of the people of the Union—[applause]—universal liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable. [Great cheering.] The Baltimore Convention have nominated these gentlemen for the Presidency

and Vice-Presidency; did they do right? [They did—they did.] Ay, they did. Let us ratify it, and pledge ourselves tonight that our labors shall be ceaseless until the people of the country, by their suffrages, shall ratify and confirm our action. [Cries of "we will," and applause.]

Why should we not do it? We elected Abraham Lincoln President of the United States, and want to know how he will behave himself when the courts are open in every district of this broad land; we want to know whether he will execute the laws in mercy, but in firmness, upon the conspirators who have led half a million of our fellow-countrymen to bloody graves in Southern fields. [That's the question.] It is due to him that he should administer his office in peace over the whole country. It is due to the dignity of our nation that he whose election was made the pretext for rebellion should carry on the war until the rebellion is closed [bravo] and its leaders sleep the quiet sleep of death in felons' graves. [Applause.] To have chosen any other man to bear our standard would have exhibited a measure of fickleness disreputable to the intelligence and firmness of a republican people. [Right.]

When or where, my fellow-countrymen, has mortal man been called to bear such responsibilities, to weigh, measure, and decide upon such far-reaching propositions as he has? What was the condition of our country when we made him its President? Go back to the 4th of March, 1861, and tell me where was your army? Under Twigs in Texas. Under Canby in New Mexico. Where were your arms? Gorging Southern arsenals. Where was your navy? Why, of sixty-nine vessels, forty-two were laid up in ordinary or dismantled in Southern yards, and of the remaining twenty-seven all save four, the smallest and lightest, were upon the most distant stations to which our national vessels bear our national flag.

What were the available resources of your country, and what the condition of its Treasury? It was bankrupt. Ay, not only was it destitute of coin, but the conspirators who controlled what is known as Buchanan's Administration, had extinguished your national credit. So that to pay their last quarters' salaries they proposed to borrow \$5,000,000 at one per cent. a month, and not all America and Europe combined were willing to lend to this nation whose domain is a continent and whose thirty-odd millions of people are so active, so energetic, so intelligent, so enterprising, the paltry sum of \$5,000,000 at one per cent. a month.

Your Senate was depleted of those who had been its leading members, and the chairs were vacant on the floor of half the lower house of Congress. The world looked upon our country as dismembered. Despots shouted at the failure of freedom, and monarchists proclaimed the failure of the last great Republic. There was joy wherever despotism or aristocracy prevailed, and there was sorrow among the oppressed millions who had beheld in the effulgent flag of our country the harbinger of hope to themselves and their posterity. In the midst of this anarchy, gloom, and despondency a quiet, unpretending, honest man from Illinois, as President elect, took the inaugural oath of office, and entered upon the government of the country. The terms of that oath bound him to attempt the conquest of 900,000 square miles of territory over which an usurping government had been established, and the reduction of the people thereof to obedience to the law.

When, as I have asked, did a man assume such duties, involving such responsibilities, and how has he performed them? Do you remember how all the avenues, save one, to yonder Capitol were barricaded? Do you remember how ovens were built in its lower stories, and wells dug beneath its dome? Do you remember how the invaders first came to the banks of yonder river, and how the allies and co-conspirators in the city threatened to capture it? Do you remember how bridges were burnt, and the great lines of travel through which the Capitol of the Government had access to the loyal regions of the North were severed? If you remember these things, come with me to the present, and see how wise and efficient a President Abraham Lincoln has been. Who in Maryland will now burn a bridge, or make war on the Union to save the accursed institution of slavery? Why, a convention to revise the Constitution of that State is now sitting, and has determined to abolish slavery, and to root out the cause, rebellion. [Applause.] And the people of Baltimore are to night more radical on the question of human freedom than many of the men of more northern cities. [Renewed applause.]

Where now is Missouri, which Claiborne Jackson and his legislature undertook to carry over to rebellion—the bastard confederacy, the offspring of fraud and force? Why, it was her radical delegation that sat in the Baltimore convention. They advocate the immediate abolition of slavery, and the amendment of the Constitution of the United States was to prohibit it forever. [Applause.] The conservatives of their State have passed an ordinance fixing a

day when slavery must die; but it is too remote to satisfy the humane and patriotic impatience of the masses of her people. It is not our capitol that is invaded to-night. [Great cheering].

Grant's forces west calmly on the other bank of the James, and Hunter victoriously thunders to the rest of Richmond.

Shall we talk of Tennessee where Andrew Johnson rules, and rules in the interest of the Union and universal liberty to man. [Applause.]

Of the free State of West Virginia, whose star shot through the gloom and darkness of political chaos to dwell forever in the constellation that illumines our flag. [Applause.] Or of Arkansas, whose sovereign convention has revised her constitution, and forever excluded slavery. Or Louisiana, who set Arkansas the example she so swiftly followed. Or shall we follow Sherman and his brave legions in their victorious march through Georgia. [Applause.] Or will the booming of the Swamp Angel visit the schools for colored children at Hilton Head and Beaufort? No, time will not permit us to indulge in the contemplation of these evidences of the rapidity with which northern ideas and bayonets have made double conquest of the rebels and their country.

But all this we have done under the administration of President Lincoln, and we will go to complete conquest for we have a navy; we have an army; we have a trea-

sury; and the people cheerfully take all the greenbacks that the printers can make. [Laughter and cheers.] They believe that the world offers no better security than the bonds of the United States. And what is more, we have grown during this vast civil war as no people ever grew. Europe, whose journals teem with expressions of wonder at the magnitude and fierceness of our battles, pours in upon us this year nearly half a million of emigrants. And by the talismanic power of Abraham Lincoln, exercising the war powers of the President, three million chattels were converted into men and citizens by the stroke of a pen. [Great cheering.] No longer stock, indentured with horses, cows, and other cattle, these poor creatures are looked upon by us, by foreign nations, and by the law, as they are looked upon by the God of Heaven, as men and women, with all the hopes, doubts, and fears, with all the immortal aspirations and longings of humanity. [Applause.]

And this has all been done in less than three years, under the wise, prudent, and courageous guidance of Abraham Lincoln.

Let us show that republics are not fickle or ungrateful. Let us re-elect him triumphantly; and let it be the pride of our posterity, that while he saved our country we intertwined the name of Abraham Lincoln with that of George Washington on the immortal scrolls of fame. [Enthusiastic cheering.]

SPEECH OF HON. H. S. LANE.

Hon. H. S. Lane, U. S. Senator from Indiana, was next introduced by the President to the meeting, with the remark that he was a Lane that had no turnings. The Senator was received with cheers and laughter at this announcement. He said:

FRIENDS AND FREEMEN OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON:

I am here to mingle my congratulations with yours upon the auspicious action of the Baltimore Convention. Upon the action of that convention we may, I trust without impiety, invoke the blessing of Almighty God. We live in a day when piety and politics are inseparably united. Patriotism has become religion; and I desire not the prayers of the Christian minister who does not love his country—sinner as I may be. [Applause.]

It is but right that I should respond in

behalf of the noble young State of Indiana, whose brow has been wreathed with the chaplets of victory upon a hundred battlefields. The neighbor of Illinois, long since our people learned to know, respect and love the honest integrity of character and purity of life of Abraham Lincoln. My own State has stood side by side with Illinois in all her industrial pursuits and commercial interests. The same free breezes sweep the wide prairies which border both States. Our old primeval forests intertwine their arms over the border that divides us.

I am proud, then, to-day in being permitted to say one word to response to the

Baltimore nominations. Your action to-night has a two-fold relation to the action of the Baltimore Convention. It was a noble convention having a grand work to perform, and right nobly, faithfully, and patriotically did they perform that work—they but endorsed what the people had long since determined upon.

We have first to endorse the principles enunciated by the Baltimore Convention: for truth is older and mightier than man. We are to endorse these principles enunciated in that convention, for they are truer than truth, and stronger than strength. The eternity of God's truth rests upon the principles proclaimed in the Baltimore Convention. They are full of the grand utterances of the Sermon on the Mount; full of the grand utterances of the declaration of American Independence, and they shall stand long after the hissing cavilings of our opponents shall cease to be heard on earth, for "truth is mighty and public justice certain."

Would that I could give to-night my feeble voice that volume that would enable all this vast assembly to hear me; for I desire to be heard not in my own behalf, but in behalf of the grand principles for the advocacy of which we have this night assembled. And what, my fellow citizens, are the principles we have met to-night to endorse? I am proud that we can here to-night preach righteousness to all nations, and universal emancipation to all the people, beginning at Jerusalem. (Laughter and cheers.) I lay my finger to-night upon the pulse of the nation, as it beats in the great metropolis of the Republic, and I feel that every pulsation, that every heart-beat, is in favor of Union and universal emancipation. (Prolonged applause.)

The principles to which I shall first briefly direct your attention as enunciated by the Baltimore Convention, are that they pledge themselves to the country to maintain the Union against all enemies, and to do this as patriots and not as partizans. Is there a loyal heart that does not respond to that? Is there a loyal man who would not preserve the Union by the application of force until the rebellion shall be suppressed, and suppressed forever?

True there are false prophets arising now in the country who cry peace! peace! when there is no peace, and can be no peace except at the end of a successful war, and the entire subjugation of the rebels in arms. (Applause.) I am not afraid of the word subjugation. It is my duty as a patriot, it is my duty as a lover of my country to insist upon the entire subjugation of every single rebel in arms. I want no peace short

of that. This would be my utterance, if it were to be my last. If thunderbolts were ready to burst on my head and crush me, I would still say, there can be no peace with rebels, while with their red right hand they clutch at the throat of the nation.

My fellow citizens, you can have no peace unless you subdue the rebels. Unless you subdue the rebels they will subdue you; and if they succeed in the dismemberment permanently of this Republic, the last hope of free government on earth will expire. The last votary of freedom will die in blood at her altar; for the last hope of freedom is inseparably connected with the Stars and Stripes—with that flag under whose glorious folds protection is given to every citizen, wherever he may be, in whatever part of the earth. (Applause.) The sentiment then of that first resolution, I take it, you endorse, and from your enthusiasm I catch the inspiration of prophecy, and feel that a greater triumph and a louder shout awaits us in the November election.

The next resolution proclaims no compromise with traitors in arms. Nothing short of the unconditional surrender of rebels. Can we accept anything short of that? (Cries of "no! no!") If you were inclined to-night to be recreant to your trust and the important duties devolved upon you, I should need only to appeal to the memories of the past to re-invigorate your waning patriotism.

Look at the history of the last three years. Visit the graves of the hundred thousand martyred heroes, who have died that this Republic might live. Shall they have died in vain, or will you carry on the war to the bloody, bitter end, to the entire supremacy of the laws and vindication of the Constitution? I know not how it may be with you, but for myself I do not desire to outlive the life of the Union. I do not desire to survive the Union of the States, or the liberties of the people. I prefer a grave in the land of freemen to life in the midst of slaves. (Applause.)

The third resolution calls for the total extirpation of slavery and the support of the President's proclamation. At the beginning of the rebellion no one perhaps contemplated so speedy an end to slavery. The suppression of the rebellion was the end. The calls for troops, the President's proclamation, the confiscation act, and all these acts of legislation were merely incidental to the great object sought to be accomplished. But when slavery sought to overthrow the institutions of the country, it wrote its own doom; and let no one expect me to be a mourner at that funeral. (Cheers and laughter.) The

rebellion was inaugurated in the interests of slavery. Slavery was to be the great corner stone of the Confederacy. They risked all upon the rebellion, in the hope of perpetuating this God-accursed, unholy institution. They in their madness threw off the only power which ever could protect slavery—the Government of the United States—and slavery and the slave power, like Acteon of old, have been torn in pieces by their own dogs. (Laughter and cries of "served him right.")

Then let slavery be extirpated. Let a new era dawn upon the world—upon this great nation. Let the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, begin now to have their first realization upon earth. I am for the extinction of slavery now, as a means to an end. It was not primarily the object; but as it is necessary that slavery should triumph and the Union go down, or the Union remain forever and slavery die. I am for the total extinction of slavery. And so are you, so are the people, so God wills.

We are beginning now and here to inaugurate a new epoch in the world's history, when we declare that man shall assume his proper position in the economy of God, regardless of all conventional laws, prejudices, or usages, and in the true spirit of the Constitution. The loyal people of the country will endorse that sentiment everywhere. You have heard already of the progress made in Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee. Everywhere, where the blighting effects of this institution have been felt, the loyal people desire its extinction. One grand mission of the Union party is, to educate the conservatives to a proper point. (Cheers.) We have been educating them for the last few years, until now the conservatives of the Border States, noblemen and patriots as they are, are to-night bivouacing under the midnight sky, beside the Northern soldier, and both have sworn an oath, recorded above, that slavery shall perish and the Union survive. (Great applause.)

The fourth resolution of the Baltimore Convention is one of thanks to your noble soldiers who have gone to the battle-field in behalf of our free institutions. I have had occasion all my life to admire the Government and people of the United States. Imperial Rome in her palmiest days never exercised such a power, never wielded such institutions for the benefit of mankind. But to-night I am prouder of my people, I am more grateful for what I have seen than I have ever been before. The brave soldier and true citizen have illustrated the fervor of their patriotism

upon an hundred battle-fields. Wherever they have been called into service they have distinguished themselves, and the victorious hosts of Lieutenant General Grant to-night shake the traitorous old commonwealth of Virginia to its foundations. [Great cheering.] And soon, I hope, as an act of God's retributive justice, salt may be sprinkled over the ashes of her iniquitous capital—a city to-night readier for destruction than were Sodom and Gomorrah when the Lord rained fire and brimstone upon them. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

The Baltimore Convention voted to thank our noble sailors who have done so much to burnish the honor of the American navy—that honor so richly and so bravely won in the war of 1812, when the gallant Lawrence and Perry, with all their comrades, saved the threatened honor of the nation from reproach. Those sailor boys of ours,

"Whose march is on the mountain wave,
Whose home is on the deep,"

deserve to be remembered by the people. They have secured for themselves the immortality of history.

The fifth resolution endorses the President of the United States. You have heard, too often to make it necessary that I should repeat it, of the distinguished services and the signal triumphs of that pure, honest, patriotic man, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States. The nomination was a compliment to him well deserved; but that nomination has a higher and deeper significance. We endorse him not simply as a pure patriot, as a distinguished statesman, as a far-seeing politician alone, but we endorse the grand principles for the support of which he is irrevocably pledged. [Cheers.] I endorse his administration, I endorse his acts. I have voted to arm, equip, and call into the field every single soldier he has demanded. I have voted for every measure of revenue thought necessary to support the Government, and I shall still vote every dollar necessary to that purpose, even though it bankrupt every individual and every corporation in the land. Oh, you should never forget that this war debt is the price you pay for the union of the States, the liberty of the people, and the hopes of mankind. [Applause.]

The sixth resolution is in reference to the unity of the Cabinet. The Cabinet should be a unit. I do not say the Cabinet is not a unit, but if any member of it now, or at any time, stands between the

President and the people and their high purposes to redeem the nation, they should be swept away as dust in the balance, and let all the people say amen. (Prolonged cheers.)

The next resolution is in favor of the Pacific railroad, that grand scheme already inaugurated: the grandest scheme of human conception, which is to revolutionize the trade of the whole world, which is to pour into the lap of this great republic the wealth of the Indies, and make tributary to our commercial enterprise all the nations of the earth. And it is one of the grandest and most sublime moral spectacles the history of the world has ever presented, that in the midst of this terrible wasting contest we are able to project and carry on such a scheme as this. A scheme which will do what built up Palmyra in the wilderness, and which has enabled England for the last hundred years to control the political destinies, and commercial interests of the whole world.

The tenth resolution re-affirms the Monroe doctrine; and what was that doctrine? It was enunciated by James Monroe in 1820 and 1821 that hereafter the continent of North America should not be devoted to European interests or colonization, or European interference. That hereafter the institutions and *effete* despotisms of the old world should not be allowed to taint the atmosphere that should pervade free republics, the happiest home for freedom that God in his mercy has ever vouchsafed to mankind. We shall in a short time be able not only to suppress the rebellion, but to assert the Monroe doctrine, and make these frog-eating Frenchmen leave Mexico on the double-quick. (Great laughter and applause.) And we shall also be able to take care of our northern and northeastern boundaries. The very moment that we are free from this great fire trial through which the country is now passing—and I shall live to see the time as you will—this great model republic, representing the only free government upon earth, will be supreme upon the continent. (Bravo.) This is as I believe the proud mission of our noble republic.

I am afraid, my fellow citizens, I have occupied your attention too long with reference to the resolutions of the Baltimore Convention. I know the whole people endorse them. I know our soldiers on the tented fields will endorse them; those men who are ready to lay down their lives for their country; who have sacrificed happy homes that you and yours might be happy

and prosperous. But after all the death of a soldier is a proud death,

"Whether upon the scaffold high,
Or in the armies' van;
The fittest place for man to die,
Is where he dies for man!"

[Applause.]

I have little to say in reference to the nomination of Governor Johnson, of Tennessee. He is known to the people of the country for his truth and fidelity in public life, and for the purity of his conduct in private life. He has breasted treason in the Senate Chamber of the United States. When the slave masters were threatening to destroy the Government, he stood faithful among the faithless, and since that time he has stood unflinching like a bulwark against treason in his own State. The people of the mountains of East Tennessee, are to day free, and they owe their freedom more to Andrew Johnson, than to any other man on earth. The mountain fastnesses have always been the chosen homes of freedom. The mountains of Eastern Kentucky, and of Western Virginia, to day contain a loyal people. The inhabitants of the mountains and valleys of Eastern Tennessee, of Northern Georgia, of Northern Alabama, are to day free, "and the last lingering ray of freedom and sunshine upon earth will gild the mountain top." It has always been so. The only free banner in Europe, gleams to night from among the Alps; so it has always been in history and it will never be otherwise.

Now, my fellow citizens, we commence this canvas under most favorable auspices; true, there are obstacles to be overcome, obstacles we shall have to contend with. The peace party are to make a nomination at Chicago, and what will that nomination be? They will either nominate a war man upon a peace platform or they will nominate a peace man upon a war platform. [Laughter and Cheers.] But the people are right now and they will be then. This peace party will come before you and tell you of our enormous debts, and of the arbitrary acts of the Administration; they will insist upon the withdrawal of your armies; they will insist upon peace, upon any terms; a peace which would degrade your manhood and make your children and your children's children to the last syllable of recorded time execrate and curse your memory. These miserable temporizers and trucklers, if they could succeed, would allow themselves and their descendants to become the servant of servants, and the slave of the devil. [Laughter.] That is what they promise you in their platform. You

hear it everywhere, you hear it in their speeches, read it in their papers, and it is an ignoble, cowardly, disgraceful surrender which you will never sanction. The country has already poured out too much of its heart's blood and expended too much of its treasure to abandon the contest now. For what have you called a million men to the field? For what have you permitted a hundred thousand soldiers to achieve "a martyr's glory and find a martyr's grave" on the battle field? Has it been to give the country again into the hands of the slave power which has ruled it for the last sixty years with a rod of iron?

These men in the front of Grant and Sherman are your open enemies; but there are other covert enemies which you may be called upon to meet. There was a *Cleveland* convention most significantly named, for whatever its object may have been, the effect of that convention is to *cleave* in sunder the Union party, if it is to have any effect. But, my fellow-citizens, Gen. John C. Fremont, the Pathfinder, has now struck out upon a path which will never lead him to the Presidency of the United States.—(Applause.) I undertook faithfully to carry his standard through the campaign of 1856, but upon that standard were emblaz-

oned "free speech, free press, free men free labor," and all that could animate the heart of the true patriot. Those principles are eternal; they live to-night, and they will be perpetuated in the grand Union party of this country. If the standard bearer is struck down, a million hearts will erect that standard and bear it forward.

My fellow-citizens, I thank you; I thank my personal friends through whom I have been enabled for the first time to address the citizens of Washington. How changed the circumstances which surround us now from those which surrounded us three years ago when treason was rampant in the Congress of the United States, when a cowardly, traitorous old man held reign in the White House, surrounded by a Cabinet whose only object was to assist him in plundering the country, and in subverting the liberties of the people. How changed is Washington to-night! Whatever may be done heretofore she is now sound to the core. Her great heart beats responsive to the cause of the Union, and her step throughout the victorious campaign on which we have entered will be to the music of the Union.

The speaker as he took his seat was greeted with enthusiastic cheers.

SPEECH OF HON. J. W. PATTERSON.

At the conclusion of the remarks of Mr. Lane, the President said:

"You will next hear from the Granite Hills of New Hampshire. I have the honor now to present to you the Hon. J. W. Patterson, of New Hampshire."

Mr. Patterson, on coming forward, said:

Fellow-citizens, we have come this evening as members of a great national party to ratify and approve the action of the Convention of the Union men of the loyal States that lately assembled at Baltimore! We have met to accept their platform of principles, and to ratify their nominations for the Presidency and the Vice Presidency; and for one, I do not regret that we meet here as partisans, for parties are essential in all free States.

Rational liberty, Constitutional law, and constant, absolute progress in civilization, will soon perish where parties have ceased to exist. Imminent peril, or an all-pervading enthusiasm, may and has, for a brief space, fused all differences and impelled a whole people into some great and sublime movement, like that for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre, or like that witnessed at

the outbreak of this great struggle of the slave power against the tide-wave of universal emancipation, but it cannot extend through long periods, and would not be safe if it could.

The moral force generated by the contact of parties is absolutely necessary to carry forward measures of national and permanent importance on the one hand, and on the other to stay the tendency of society when it would be borne away to its lasting injury by weak or unscrupulous leaders. It will be understood, of course, that I am not speaking of temporary but of permanent parties, such as the whigs and tories in England, the federalists and republicans, whigs and democrats in our own political history, and the conservatives and radicals of all time.

Revolutionary periods more than all

others demand both the impulses and the restraints of parties. Great power is demanded to give the proper momentum, but when the nation has acquired the swift flight of these heated epochs, it must feel the breaks of conservatism pressed home, that society may not be precipitated into the gulf of anarchy.

While we should be quick to discover and inexorable in our purpose to bring to light any treason lurking beneath the folds of party, we should from a regard to public safety give a large liberty to the exercise of private judgment within the limits of loyalty.

The central principles which give life and cohesion to political organizations, and which they seek to realize in laws and institutions, should be vital, comprehensive, and worthy to be perpetuated through all time.

History tells us that parties which have their birth in revolutionary periods are more elevated in purpose and pure in action than those that have their origin in the quiet, piping times of peace.

Now, gentlemen, how is it in respect to our platform of principles?

I say nothing about the platform of our opponents, for that is known, and read, and despised of all men. (Laughter and applause.) It is a platform of paradoxes. They profess great economy, but stand ready in every legislature of the land, to vote away the people's money by millions, if by so doing they can break down and ruin the Administration which God has set for the preservation and perpetuation of our institutions of liberty. They clamor for a more vigorous prosecution of the war; but in Congress and out of Congress, in season and out of season, they oppose every measure looking to an increase of the army, or designed to give it greater efficiency. They resolved and re-resolved that it is our duty to get down on our bellies, and crawl as though the curse of God was upon us, up to the perjured traitors who have covered the land with suffering and sorrow, that we may lick their hands and beg for peace. They claim to be the friends of liberty, and yet they "compass sea and land" that they may make one more slave, and pledge the divine government to the perpetuation of the bondage of black men.

Let us now turn from this mosaic of contradictions, this patch-work creed of men,

hereafter be held in a proud historic remembrance by our children.

We have selected for the suffrages of the nation, statesmen of experience who have illustrated the genius of our institutions, and represent the common industry and common sense of the masses of our population. Their ability and patriotism have been developed and tested by the severe discipline of practical life.

Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson were born and reared among the people, and have entered into their labors and sacrifices. They appreciate the popular wants, sympathies, and modes of thought, and are destined to be the chosen rulers of those who are now redeeming from the grasp of treason with their treasure and their blood, the institutions of Government which our fathers laid upon the foundations of liberty.

Men of more brilliant genius and more profoundly versed in the philosophy of government than our Chief Magistrate may be found, but few possess in higher degree that wisdom which results from a rare combination of qualities, and which fits men to guide the affairs of a great nation in times of imminent peril than he. His integrity is a part of his statesmanship.

The continued exaltation of the President will be due, under God, to the general and abiding confidence of the country in his honesty and his policy, and to the peril of change in the midst of civil war.

There may have been mistakes and even wrongs under his administration; the vultures of trade may have fattened on the treasures of the people, and the innocent at times suffered violence, but these are attributable to the extent of the operations, not to a want of integrity or efficiency in the Government. We may as justly charge such abuses upon the Divine Government, as upon our civil Administration. The accidents due to gravitation do not impugn the wisdom of the law, and the same principle holds in the administration of civil affairs.

We of the East should have been glad to have had one of our own sons put in nomination for the second place of trust, but these are no times for bickering about places and honors, and as a New Hampshire man I pledge the nominees, not only the vote of my State, but the cordial and multitudinous support of all New England, for she is

True to the last of her kith and her kin.

"That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
And still revolt when truth would set them free,"

to the platform which the civilization of the age has built for us, and which will

But, to return to the platform from which we have wandered, we oppose the establishment upon this continent of monarch-

real institutions through fraud or force by any power whatever. [Loud and prolonged applause.] We claim that we are impelled to this action by a decent respect to the rights of sister republics, as well as by the instinct of self-preservation. This western continent of ours was concealed for more than five thousand years by the God of nations, in the wide waste of water, to the end that it might be the home of the last, best birth of civil and religious liberty, and that it might furnish a broad and untrammelled arena within which the beneficent triumphs of a christian civilization might unfold their glories among the latest generations of our children. And we cannot innocently, we cannot safely suffer the foot of any foreign despot to pollute this inheritance of freedom. [Applause.] Again, we claim in our platform to be the constant friends of the soldier, and to have perpetual sympathy with those brave boys and brothers of ours who have gone forth from their quiet homes, and now stand in the panoply of the Union on the slippery field of battle, or lie in bloody graves and narrow trenches, dug by the hand of traitors. Nor shall our sympathy spend itself in heartless, fruitless words of promise; but we will give to them support and succour till victory crowns their efforts. Living their deeds shall be honored, and dying their memories shall be cherished in our literature and monuments, for

Oh, if there be on this earthly sphere
A boon, an offering. Heaven holds dear,
'Tis the last libration liberty draws
From the heart that bleeds and breaks in her cause.

Again, gentlemen, we go for the utter annihilation of slavery, the mother of all our woes. [Great applause.] We go for this by the repeal of fugitive slave laws. We go for this in bills of reconstruction. We go for this in presidential proclamations of emancipation. [Applause.] And above all, and over all, we go for this by such an amendment of the Constitution as shall secure freedom upon every foot of the republic, from the Lakes to the Gulf; from the storm beaten coast of the Atlantic to where the Pacific sleeps on the golden sands of California. [Loud applause.]

But, gentlemen, we are told that we have no constitutional right to do this. Oh! That is the plea of tyrants in every age, when they wish to strengthen themselves in oppression. Men wielding irresponsible power and conscious of wrong, always skulk behind letters patent, parchment forms and prescriptive rights, and there taking sanctuary claim to be beyond the reach of civilization.

But fortunately the forecast of our fathers, enlightened by experience, anticipated this refuge of arbitrary power, and placed in the Constitution itself a provision for its amendment.

There are but two exceptions to the power thus conveyed, and they prove the right to change that instrument in other particulars.

But if we had no such legal right given to us in the organic law, the people of this country to-day have the same right to amend the Constitution so that it may conform to the moral life of the nation, and to the changed conditions of the times, that our fathers had originally to adopt the old "articles of confederation," or to transform them into the present fundamental law. [Loud applause.]

Let those gentlemen who oppose an amendment to the Constitution remember that that instrument was made by men who had set aside both the law and the Constitution of England, and who based their action in these high matters upon an inalienable birthright.

Revolutions are a law unto themselves. Laws, like language and science, must change so as to express the prevalent ideas of an advancing civilization. Why, the tongue of Chaucer is not to-day the language of England. The laws of Edward and Anne are not the laws of Queen Victoria. The science of Bacon is not the science of the 19th century; and we should remember also that the undisputed principles of the common law of England, that our liberties and privileges as Englishmen, were at successive epochs opposed as violent innovations upon the iron code of prescription, and have been consecrated by the blood of men whom English law condemned and executed as the enemies of society. Maxims of law and precedents of history, have been drags upon the chariot of time before our day, and must not be suffered to arrest its progress here.

Yes, gentlemen, we have the right to do this thing, and is it not high time that it was done? (Cries of "Yes, yes," and applause.) Have not we suffered enough from this curse of slavery? (Cries of "Yes, yes.") What has it done for us? It has been the apple of discord in all our national life, and now it has plunged us in the saddest, bloodiest war known to history. It has squandered our hard earnings, and laid in untimely graves hundreds of thousands of our brave boys. It is high time that we should cast out this foul fiend. Why, don't tell me that it is slavery that has brought on the war—it was "firing on Fort Sumter," they say.

(Laughter.) Firing on Fort Sumter was simply an incident, the antecedent of the war, not the underlying cause. Go back to the history of the revolution of 1776. Now, in that revolution it was not the writs of assistance, or the stamp act, or the tax of a few pennies on tea that brought about that great struggle. These were only the incidents that preceded it. Our fathers saw in these simple incidents, however, an effort of the British ministry to deprive them of their old, traditional, inherited rights and liberties as Englishmen. They saw in those measures a purpose of the British ministry to tax them without representation, and that was the outrage that led to the war. But what did that little handful of saintly heroes do when at length they had been once plunged into the war? Did they sit down and fold their arms and count the cost of liberty, and conclude that they had better compromise? Thank Heaven, not they! That meanness never entered into any man's heart but the tory's. No, they determined to expel the tyrant that would enslave them from the land, and they made themselves strong in God by gathering up, in language as imperishable as the eternal hills that stood around them, the ripe fruits of all past revolutions; and underlaying the struggle with that sublime declaration, that "all men are created free and equal," that "they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." On those principles they went through the revolution. May we not learn a lesson from them?

Now, standing as we do, their children in this republic, which we have inherited from them, and with those lights of history flaming all around us, what interpretation must we give to this great struggle which for three years has "walked in darkness and wasted at noonday." I believe no man pretends that it is a people struggling for freedom, and employing the extreme right of revolution. The South does not claim that we have deprived her of any of her rights, or laid upon her any unequal burdens. No, the historic character of this struggle is and can be nothing else than a gigantic rebellion of the spirit of slavery against the spirit of universal freedom. That is what it is, and nothing else. It is an effort to overthrow the republic on more than half its territory. And Southern men honestly and frankly confess it. No Northern man, no Northern fanatic even ever pronounced denunciations more strong and sweeping against slavery, or ever put on record nobler and

sublimier utterances for liberty than did Madison, Jefferson, Randolph, Henry, and all the prominent statesmen of that early period of the republic.

Speaking of Jefferson, Stephens, the Vice President of this factitious confederacy, said: "The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically."

Madison "thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there should be property in man." And in a discussion in Congress upon a memorial introduced by Dr. Franklin for the abolition of slavery, he said: "The dictates of humanity, the principles of the people, the national safety, and, perhaps, prudent policy, require it of us." Required what? Why, the abolition of slavery; [loud applause,] and that came from a slaveholder, and the father of the Constitution. It was the universal sentiment of that day. We have made no progress in this matter since '76 and 87 fanatics as we are. I will admit that some men have exercised with a great deal of freedom the liberty of the press and the liberty of speech guaranteed by the Constitution to all in defending the faith once delivered to the saints; but I claim that it is a wrong done to history, a wrong done to the mighty dead, to give to Garrison and to Phillips the glory which belongs to Jefferson and Madison.

The South began the agitation of this question. They sought to counteract public opinion and establish slavery from motives of self-interest. They first promulgated the foul dogma, that slavery was the normal condition of the black man from the same consideration. It was their agitation of the question which led to the war with Mexico, that resulted in the independence of Texas. It was that which brought Texas into the Union. It was their agitation that filibustered in Central America. It was this that led to the Compromise of 1820, and abrogated that compromise in 1854. It was this that led to the war with Mexico, which put us in possession of California. And when California, one bright morning, came rapping at the doors of the Republic, and asked to be admitted as a free State, what happened then? Why, the traitor Toombs, rising in his place in the House of Representatives, and swinging his long skinny finger about his black, curly locks, invoked the God of Discord to reign in the Hall until the South should obtain its rights; and what were they? The

right to bring California into this Union against the wishes of its people as a slave State in order to give the preponderance to the South for all time to come in the national councils. But at length the long contest has passed from the arena of debate to the arbitrament of arms, and now it rests with you and with me to say whether we will stand up for the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is, in spirit to the glorious end, against those who would break up the Union for the sake of transforming the Constitution into a fundamental charter of a great slavo-cratie aristocracy.

It is the old struggle over again above the very ashes of the men who fell in the first great conflict for liberty. It is a contest between a christian civilization and a barbarism. Some men express great fears of the passions of parties, and the policy of administrations, but, gentlemen, we need not fear, for the policy of God will prevail in this contest. If there is a God of nations who moves on the pathway of history, he is an infidel who does not see him "riding upon the whirlwind and directing the storm."

If you and I would become co-laborers in the grandest epoch of human history, then let us cast in our lot in this great effort to exorcise the foul fiend from the Republic. Absolute conquest, complete subjugation, my friend has styled it, is the shortest, the simplest, and in my judgment the only solution of this difficult problem, which, like the ghost of Banquo, would never down at our bidding, and which has baffled the genius of our wisest and best statesmen in times past, and rested like a mildew and a blight upon the prosperity of the country from the inception of the Government.

Some men talk about compromise. Compromise! Why, you may compromise with the plague, with the cholera, with a typhoon in mad fury, but you cannot compromise with a revolution midway in its progress. The thing is not known to history. It cannot be done. The English people attempted to compromise the great revolution of 1640, and what happened? Why, the smothered elements of that revolution burst out again in 1680, and the purpose of Providence was then realized; and so will it always be.

Our path lies straight onward through the sea. Beyond, the land lies broad and rich and beautiful. The wealth and population of the country have increased during these years of waste and blood, and in this we have a prophecy, a vision rising out of the fire-mist that envelops us, of the unparalleled prosperity, strength and grandeur

which will open upon our eyes, when the untrammelled enterprise of free labor is turned upon the resources of the land.

Why should any man wish by compromising with treason to saddle upon the industry of the loyal States, uncounted millions of southern debt? Why should any man wish to emasculate the industrial forces of the country by leaving the dry rot of slavery in the framework of society?

If one half of the wealth, the physical force, and the intellectual power which has been expended in efforts to bolster up this miserable institution had been expended in developing the resources of our country, the Atlantic and the Pacific would long since have been locked in an embrace of iron; long since would our country have been the rich centre of a vast and civilizing commerce between Asia and Europe; long since should we have been the acknowledged head of nations in all that makes a people great and glorious. But all this and more is possible to us in the not distant future, if we will but purge the veins of the body politic of this consumption, this scrofula, which is dragging it down to death.

The most vigorous imagination would fail in an attempt to foreshadow the happiness and glory of an intelligent and populous Republic, stretching over half a continent, filled with churches, charities and schools; harmonious in the application of its capital and industry, and devoting its unmeasured resources to the uplifting of the children of sorrow in every clime.

Wish we, dare we, to go forth from this baptism of fire into the light of a peaceful age, without accomplishing the work which Providence has set for us to do?

Our fathers made themselves free in the first great struggle for liberty. Shall we make no progress in this? We are sometimes pointed to the sufferings of our soldiers and of our people. Why, have you forgotten the sorrows of Valley Forge? Do we not remember how our fathers walked for nineteen miles with naked feet, staining the spotless snow with their blood at every foot-fall? And how they fell dead as they stood around their watch-fires; and when the spring of that midnight of the revolution dawned upon them, and the British Government offered to compromise, do you remember how they spurned with ineffable contempt the offer from the British throne.

They had spent their money. They had buried their dead out of sight; and they were determined themselves to die or be free. They teach us lessons of fortitude and heroic endeavor in the cause of freedom. Shall not those who are suffering and battling for liberty in the Old World,

as they turn their eyes with the "star of empire" westward, behold here a people free in deed as in word? Why, suppose that you settle this contest by compromise, and not by conquest, what then? Would Bull Run be piled with monuments to dead traitors? Would Gettysburg lift marbles that would speak the glories of your children fallen for liberty and Government? Would the shafts reared to the dead of both sections rise side by side at Antietam to nurse the smothering, rankling hate that ere long would burst forth and renew the bloody conflict of to-day? Whose history of the contest would be accepted by both sections? Who would claim the ashes of your dead fathers that sleep beneath the ashes of your brothers and children at Yorktown, and other old battle fields of the Revolution?

I tell you, my fellow-citizens, there is but one course left to us. We must fight—I repeat it, we must fight. [Applause.]

I do not claim here and now for the illiterate, untutored African all the privileges and rights which have been wrought out for us, as we were prepared to receive them by revolutions and many generations of an intelligent and christian ancestry. What purely political privileges it may be wise to bestow upon four millions of beings just lifted from the ignorance and degradation of servitude to the light of liberty in the very heart of the republic, is a problem which the logic of events will soon solve, as it has solved other problems past finding out by our puny powers.

But what I do claim here and now is this: that the law of natural justice, as laid down both in the civil and divine code, gives to every being the largest measure of liberty he is capable of improving. Less than that is despotism; more than that is anarchy, and anarchy is despotism. I am perfectly well

aware that rational liberty must be secured to any people by laying upon them such restraints of law as their want of moral and intellectual culture may demand; but that does not justify slavery, and least of all slavery as it exists among ourselves; for it is not a form of civil government, but simply and purely a domestic and social institution, having its origin and support in selfishness. It abrogates the marriage contract, and the right of property; it ignores those natural prerogatives and primal virtues which are the essence of all law, and the foundation stones on which rests the whole fabric of social and civil institutions. It seeks to perpetuate its own existence, not by the ministrations of learning, justice, and religion—the first duty of every State—but by ignoring the moral and intellectual being of its subjects, and attempting to crush out all their manhood and womanhood by its cunning inventions of diabolism.

I claim, therefore, now that the South has put the torch to its own magazine of infernal pyrotechnics, that the black man shall have the right to possess his own wife and children, to enjoy the fruits of his industry, to advance in civilization according to the measure of his capacity. (Loud applause.) And if

"in the lowest deep
A lower deep still threatens to devour,"

it is due to those from whom we have inherited our liberties, it is due to those to whom we hope to transmit them, it is due to those who have already fallen in this great struggle, it is due to the cause of civil liberty and the unity of history, to the living,—that we should plunge this foul fiend of discord into that wide womb of uncreated night. [The speaker retired amid great applause.]

SPEECH OF HON. J. M. HOWARD.

Senator HOWARD, having been introduced by the President of the meeting, spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: As one of the representatives of the great Northwest, I greet you. A region of country which at the formation of the Constitution possessed scarcely a thousand white settlers, speaking the English tongue, now, in 1864, with the united voices of its seven and a half millions of free inhabitants, in-

vokes the rest of the nation to stand firmly by the old Union! The genius of the Northwest is awake. Never doubt her. Her love of liberty, her love of nationality, her love of the Union will prove too strong for all temptations. She has been insolently and arrogantly promised by the rebels the free navigation of the Mississippi, and other

commercial advantages, if she would withdraw her powerful hand from the present combat with traitors. You have read her firm reply in the heaps of her martyred sons at Donelson, Shiloh, Vicksburg, Port Hudson, and other fields, where they sealed with their blood their fidelity to the great cause.

I only speak worthily of their character when I predict the continued display of the same heroic devotion until this base-born slaveholders' conspiracy shall be totally overthrown, and its tyrant leaders be made to bite the dust. I only speak worthily of their character when I say they will forever look with abhorrence upon every attempt to break up the Union of the States, as they do with disdain upon the offer of thieves to give what the true owners have abundant power to retain and hold, not only against a set of crazy plunderers, but against the world in arms. They will make no terms with traitors, but those of unconditional surrender.

As a Northwestern man, I hail the occasion as one of high import. It vindicates not only the wisdom and justice of the fathers of the Republic, but, what is certainly not less worthy of our regard, the justice of Heaven. Seventy-seven years ago those revered ancestors, by the famous Jeffersonian ordinance, consecrated that vast territory to freedom. In the language of Mr. Webster, "they impressed upon the very soil an incapacity to bear up any but free men." The demon of slavery made open war upon the beneficent Government of our fathers the moment the President was elected from the same old Northwest. Its imps sought to entrap and assassinate him on his way to the capital, but a protecting God shielded his days from the knife of the assassin, and enabled Abraham Lincoln to show to the world that the principles of that ordinance of freedom had sunk deep into his heart. The proclamation of emancipation was but a natural outgrowth of those principles. Was it not the justice of Heaven that thus snatched up the representative of the free Northwest, and made him the standard-bearer and apostle of the friends of free government against slave-driving treason? Was it not a recognition that the ordinance of 1787, like its prototype, the Declaration of Independ-

ence, was an inspiration of divine justice in the hearts of our fathers, and of the purpose of Heaven, that the people distinguished by it should, as they have done, act a leading part in maintaining its principles? Else, why was an humble peasant boy, born in slaveholding Kentucky, penniless and friendless, transferred to the old Northwest, to become there the high, if not the highest illustration of the political as well as the social fruits of those principles? And why, else, has it happened that the present heroic leader of our armies, [cheers,] before the point of whose sword the rebel hosts are slinking away—how has it happened that the gallant, wise, and fearless Grant is also a child of the old Northwest? [Great applause.]

With these striking signs before you, do not doubt that those States will remain true to the cause we have in hand; do not doubt that they will stand faithfully by him who in the midst of unparalleled difficulties, has for the last three-and-a-half years born our standard onward with an eye single to the good of his country and the permanent maintenance of the free principles which constitute its true glory; do not doubt that Mr. Lincoln will again receive the votes of the Northwestern States, as he did in 1860. Let not the rebels, let not those who sympathize with them at home or abroad, indulge the delusion that the Northwest will ever fail or falter in maintaining the honor of the flag and supporting those faithful public servants who defend the Constitution and the Union. Let them not indulge the dream that she will, in the coming crisis, forget the debt of gratitude the whole country owes to the tried, sagacious and honest Lincoln, or to the almost martyr life of the true-hearted and resolute Johnson; but let them be prepared to see those elder daughters of the old Union coming hand in hand with their fair sisters from the other side of the Mississippi to the Capitol in 1865, and, by their votes, saying to our chosen candidates, "Well done good and faithful servants; we confide to your honor, we entrust to your patriotism the Government of the United States, and we enjoin upon you to see to it that the war for the popular Government be prosecuted to a speedy and successful close!"

SPEECH OF HON. C. B. DENIO.

The Hon. C. B. Denio, of California, was the next speaker.

The President, on introducing Mr. Denio, said: Gentlemen, I have now the pleasure of introducing to you a gentleman from the Pacific coast, one whom we formerly knew on the Mississippi as the Mississippi Bricklayer. [Applause.]

Mr. Denio, on coming forward, said:

Ordinarily, fellow-citizens, I should feel that I could say something in favor of ratifying the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, and something connected with the great and momentous issues that are to-day being enacted upon the theatre of the world. But we have been so long in the habit, fellow-citizens—at least here in the Capital—of hearing the greasy mechanics and mudsills talked about, that some of us have begun to think that perhaps it was time that “we had no rights,” as was said of the black men, “that the lords of creation were bound to respect.”

Three years ago the working men of this nation nominated Abraham Lincoln. We took him from among the laboring men. We elected him in a constitutional way to be President of the United States. Since that time he has been President of but a part of it, and we propose to renominate him and *re-elect* him until he is in fact President of the whole United States. I heard a gentleman a few moments since, before I got on the stand, saying, we had better make him Dictator, and appoint him perpetual President. I do not think we will do that; but it is the resolution, the firm and fixed purpose of the masses of this nation to continue renominating Abraham Lincoln until he is President of the entire United States. (Loud applause.) And at the end of four years, if that modern Ulysses of ours has not penetrated to the heart of the rebellion—but I guess he will—(Laughter and applause,)—if there is a solitary or lone county down in South Carolina with the secession rag still floating, we will renominate “Old Abe” again. (Loud applause.) And we will continue renominating him, and electing him too, (renewed applause) until he is President of the United States, and then we will let him retire to Springfield, and we will then take General Grant, or some other good man—for Grant would accept of a nomination from us, but he would not touch a nomination from that thing—that copper-colored concern—which is going to assemble in Chicago next month. (Laughter and applause.)

I have been now some three years from the Atlantic States. I have been over to that glorious, Union-loving California, where the Copperhead never hisses now. (Laughter and applause.) We have driven the Biglers and the Wellers up into the territories. They are now doing what that great personage who first started a secession movement about which old blind Milton wrote, did, when he was cast over the battlements of Heaven. He didn't try to fight in the old place, but he heard of a new Republic on earth here, and a new class of beings, and he concluded to strike there.

California will give Abraham Lincoln not less than 25,000 majority. (Great applause.) If you do not believe it, look at the Representatives that we send from California. Who are they? They are men like John Conness. A merchant from the mountains of that glorious State, who loving his country more than party, could sever all party ties when those ties were leading him away from the cause of that country; a man who was accustomed to listen to the bugle notes of the Democratic chieftains, when to be a Democrat was—excusable. (Laughter and applause.) When the knights of the party still lived, when the plumed leaders like Douglas lived; but when this rebellion broke out, when these traitors sought to sever this nation and blast the hopes of the world, then they were no longer heeded.

Look at our Representatives in the other branch of our National Congress. Democrats, all but one; Cole, the life-long Republican from Santa Cruz, becomes almost a conservative when placed beside those two old Democrats, old Douglas men—Shannon the tinner and miner from our mountains, and Higbee from the plains. But as they express it themselves, and as is customary among California miners, they are both “down on the bed rock” on this question of slavery and the prosecution of the war. (Laughter and applause.) I have heard Copperheads in this city say, (for I am sorry to say you have such even here) that some great reaction is going to take place; and they are mourning over these young men

who are coming back in such a maimed condition, and those fallen heroes who slumber on the banks of our rivers. We are not complaining over these men. Much as we love them, they are willing sacrifices offered in a holy cause, falling as they are falling; others will take their places. We will wear out the young men, and then the old men will go; and let it now be understood by these men that we propose fighting as long as there is a particle of hope left.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, when there is no hope, and when these small men who have broken into Congress at a moment, as it would seem, when God had forgotten the world, (laughter,) or they never could have got there, [renewed laughter,] raise Constitutional quibbles against the Government, under the shallow pretense that they are in favor of these men, let us do as the pale-faced brother, Thomas Starr King, on the Pacific, said, "Wade through the Constitution, crush the rebellion, and attend to these matters afterwards."

I have no doubt, fellow-citizens, of the triumphant election of Mr. Lincoln. I shall do what I can to elect him. I shall do it upon the Pacific coast. I shall do it in Illinois. I shall do it in Wisconsin. The people are all ready to do it.

I am expecting to leave your city within three or four days, but before I leave it I am expecting to hear that Grant has taken Richmond, and that he has sent Brute Butler in there to be the military governor. [Laughter and applause, and cries of "Amen."]

And so say all the people, "Amen." [Renewed laughter and applause.]

We are fighting, fellow-citizens, for something more than an ordinary dispute. The world is interested in this contest, and he is a coward and an ingrate who does not step forward and face the music. I noticed the other day a scene which made a deep impression upon me. While a company of these noble fellows, who were ordered to the front, were passing through your streets on their way, they were met by a train of ambulances conveying those who were returning from the battle in a wounded condition, after having faithfully served their country. Additional patriotic fervor seemed to light up the countenances of these men as they gazed on the mangled bodies of their comrades; and as for myself, I then prayed that there might be no cessation of this war until the last rebel was disarmed. It will soon be done. That old banner has got to wave over all this nation, and as one of the speakers to-night

has said, when it does I am for having it wave all over this continent. [Vociferous applause.]

A voice.—Over Mexico, sure.

Mr. Denio.—Yes, sir, I am for driving Maximilian out if he ever comes here to stay, which I doubt.

Let me say, fellow-citizens, that I am anticipating a brilliant victory in November, and another long before that on the sacred soil of Virginia. The determination showed by the people to re-nominate Abraham Lincoln is equal to an army of 100,000 men in weakening the backbone of the rebellion. (Loud applause.) They know that Ucle Abe, unlike some distinguished men, never changes base. They know that Ucle Abe has placed a man at the head of the army of the Potomac who orders the "spades to the rear." (Applause.) They know that that leader has crooked teeth, and that when he gets hold he can't let go. (Laughter and applause.) I knew General Grant in Galena years ago, and from what I knew of him then I can say he will take Richmond, and continue taking every point between him and the last traitor. (Applause.) That is the destiny of the army of the Potomac. (Renewed applause.) That is the man of that army. (Applause.) While our brave boys were storming the heights of Fort Donelson, the army of the Potomac was comparatively idle. But now, when Vicksburg is taken, when the Mississippi river is open, when the commerce of a grateful and an industrious nation is floating up and down that great artery of commerce, General Grant assumes command of the army of the Potomac, and that army is now moving. Noble fellows will fall. I see you have one motto here—"Honor the dead." I too would honor the dead. It matters not from what State, or country, or clime may come the brave soldier who goes forth heroically to fight our country's battles, imbued with patriotic love for and faith in the justice of her sacred cause, in his devotion, nobly daring to die and offering his life as his last and only contribution on the altar of his country.

And although, possibly, he may not be accomplished in education or polished with the graces, yet if he falls, expiring with his face toward the foe, though grimmed with smoke and covered with bloody wounds, yet every scar will contain the lines of beauty *fairer than Apollo's*, and his memory, with WASHINGTON'S, be faithfully enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen forever.

I would erect a monument to every one

of the brave leaders who have fallen ; but the monument of all others which should come nearer reaching Heaven, I would say, should be the monument erected in honor of the unnamed heroes that have fallen in this fight. (Great applause.) Men whose names will never be known in history ; whose names will never, no never, be heard again, save when uttered in the little private circle, it may be by the feeble widowed mother, or the husbandless wife, or the orphan boy. There, in those circles, is where these heroes are known. Let our country erect such a monument to them. Let these people at the Capital inaugurate the move. Let it spread and ramify all over the broad extent of our nation ; and we will send gold from the golden shores of California. We will rear a pile to the unnamed heroes. (Applause.) To the brave boys who have left their workshops, and others, who have gone forward to assert the dignity of the poor laborer. (Renewed applause.) Let us erect that monument, and let there be a plain inscription upon it : " Erected to the memory of the Unnamed Heroes, by their grateful country ; " and that is a sufficient inscription. We will have to go to building this monument soon, for this thing of secession is about played out. (Laughter.)

It is said to be the custom of all nations to pay tribute to their dead and to their living heroes. The ancient Republic of Greece erected a magnificent temple called a pantheon, which travelers tell us, exists to this day. In it the inhabitants of that country delighted to inscribe the names of those heroes and statesmen that had rendered service in their day and generation. The sentiment which leads to such action, which leads men to build those temples, is one of the most lofty which has a home in the human soul. Other nations have done it. England has done it ; France has done it ; Russia has done it—indeed, all civilized and christian nations have done it. They have all erected their temples to the memory of the patriotic, illustrious dead.

We, too—this our own beloved land—this great Republic has also her pantheon, where she delights to perpetuate the memory of such men as Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Clay,—God bless his old name,—(applause,) and Webster, and where she will delight to perpetuate the memory of honest old Abe Lincoln, the workingmen's friend. But when Grant wears out this rebellion when its backbone is broken, in what temple will the memory of their great men be found ? Echo answers where ?

A voice. " Down in Libby Prison."

Mr. DENIO. No, not even in Libby Prison. No country on the wide extent of this globe

will dare appropriate them, or sing paens of praise to their memory. But there is a place, a pantheon, beneath—far down in the lowest depths and realms of the universe—built from the foundation of the world, for such spirits as fell from the battlements of Heaven. There, where the atmosphere does not grow cold, (laughter and applause,) where the worm dieth not ; (renewed laughter,) there will the inhabitants delight to inscribe the names of Jefferson Davis, John B. Floyd, (laughter,) Mason and Sli-dell, Wm. L. Yancey, (renewed laughter,) and that little man Wigfall, and " leading all the rest " the name of Clement L. Vallandigham, and along list (renewed laughter,) of lesser lights—lesser because less brave—Copperheads skulking around loyal communities, and hissing out their poison. Their names will be found there ; their busts will be placed in prominent niches, (laughter,) and the inhabitants will utter screams of fiendish delight to know that here on this earth, and in this great Republic of ours, there has existed spirits—heroes if you please to call them so—of vaster, more infernal malignity, and whose birth-right to eternal infamy is immeasurably greater than their own. There these men's names will be found. I am waiting for it, though I never expect to read their names in that place, because I am a Union man. (Great laughter and applause.)

But we have got some members of Congress yet here, who will read their names. (renewed laughter and applause.) I believe there are some eight or nine from Illinois. (Renewed laughter.) I used to know them in days of yore. I have met them in legislative council ; but some of them—I thank you—have got considerably converted. (Laughter.) I was talking to one of them the other day. Says I, " How do you stand on the Union question ? " " Why," says he, " Denio, I have got to be a decent man." I am down on the bed rock on this abolition question. I got to be an abolitionist when they commenced firing on Fort Sumter ; and I commenced going from house to house among my neighbors and told them, ' Now for once the Democrats have an opportunity to prove to the world that they are decent men ; and told them that I was going to try to be one.' " The result was he was sent to Congress, but not by Peace Democrats, and I am glad he was. He is a noble fellow, (applause,) and we are going to send him back again from Illinois. (Renewed applause.) We are going to take up such men, and no other will ever be sent back here again. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, send out your influence from the capital here. Remember that we

are at work not only for ourselves to-day, but our boys are growing up around us. And those who have not boys growing up around them, ought to have as soon as possible. [Great laughter and applause.]

If we are brave fathers we will put a termination to this war. We will do it now, so that our boys may have peace and quiet. Do it so effectually that no one will ever dare again to raise his sacrilegious hand against that banner. I have an abiding faith in that banner; it is a good one as it is, but it is going to be altered a little. That blue spot is not large enough to contain the stars. As we have got to enlarge that, we will have to enlarge both parts of the flag. We have got to make the stars smaller; we have got to do something, for stars are being added to it almost every month.

We are told by the Apostle John, in his apocalyptic vision, that he saw a mighty angel come down from Heaven, clothed in a cloud, and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face shone as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire; and he held in his hand a little book open, and he placed one foot upon the sea, and the other upon the land, and he cried with a loud voice to the nations of the earth, So shall we, fellow-citizens, soon see this dark and damning cloud of war roll away, revealing the fair genius of our country, clothed with flowers, resplendent with glory, her brow encircled with the cloud of victory, attended by peace, Heaven-born peace, and placing one foot upon the sea and the other on the land, and she, too, will open the volume of her political creed, and from that volume she will thunder forth to the nations of the world the sublime doctrine of peace on earth, and good will to all nations and peoples, to every man, to every inhabitant over all her vast domain, LIBERTY AND UNION, now and forever, until time shall be no more.

One word about that proclamation, and it is am done. Some of the friends of Mr. Fremont, the Pathfinder—who, by the way, has taken the wrong path to the Presidency—have claimed for him that he was the author of that great Proclamation of Freedom to a down-trodden race, and that Lincoln has stolen his thunder. Allow me to say, that neither Fremont nor Lincoln was the author of the Emancipation Proclamation: God himself was the author. He

works by agents here on earth. Abraham Lincoln is but the instrument in his hands—his Commanding General, and the toiling millions not only of this land, but of the world, are on his staff. The war is waged, the line of battle is formed. On the one side stand the stalwart laborers of the world; on the other, the aristocracy, the slave-owners, the men who condemn the sons of toil, the proud and haughty of the world; and as sure as God is just, the issue will be determined upon the side of *justice and of freedom*. The shackles will be stricken from the last slave, and the slave-owning aristocrat will be drafted by the great dispenser of justice into the ranks of the laborers. No three hundred dollar exemption clause in that law.

He must shoulder the axe, and take up the implement of toil, and if he falls behind in the workshop and the field, and is not—in the day of labor—equal to the *Free Slave* of the South, or the sturdy and intelligent mechanic of the north, he must meet the consequences, for the fiat of Jehovah and not of Abraham Lincoln has determined his destiny. To accomplish this end—this justice—many a brave man will fall. They will not be forgotten, for of each it will be written, in the language of one of our fair country-women:

He loved his country: when she called, went forth—
His strong, young, manful life within his hand—
To save her honor, or to bravely die
Between her and the foe. Our bannered hosts
Are still advancing; still the land resounds
With muffled tramp, and shock of serried arms.
On each contested field the dead look up
By thousands—tens of thousands—look straight up,
Through trampled dust and blood-stained turf, to
God.

Who holds the isene. Scarce one household hearth
But lacks some tender light from eyes to set
In death's mute, waiting wonder. We miss ours.
A chair stands empty in its wonted place,
A shadow falls across the floor, and he—
Our soldier boy, his father's only son,
Taking his rest as truest soldiers do
When work is done—lies shot to death between
Us and the foe

Oh God! by lives like this—
By blood of husbands, fathers, brothers, sons,
So freely offered, hear us for our cause;
Unite our Northland in one loyal aim:
Wherever lifted, break the brazen front,
Of treason. Make its very name a thing
So foul and hateful, men shall whisper it
With bated breath, and traitors everywhere
Be banned and branded. Then, and not till then,
The nation's flag shall float without a stain;
Then rebels and their serfs shall live alone
On record, telling how sublime a truth
We fought for, and how grand its triumph!

SPEECH OF HON. G. ADAMS.

The last speaker was the Hon. G. ADAMS, introduced as a Kentuckian. He proceeded to address the meeting in a clear and forcible manner:

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: I do not propose, at this late hour, to inflict upon you a lengthy speech. Moreover, this call upon me to address you is entirely unexpected.

Why is it that the loyal people of this country have re-nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency of the United States, with a unanimity unparalleled on the American continent? It is because they have tried him, and know that he is honest, capable, and faithful. It is because they have tested him, and know that he is an enlightened and devoted patriot, who sincerely loves his country and his Government—an ardent philanthropist, who is the unflinching friend of humanity, and of civil and religious liberty. It is because they have confidence that he is the friend of universal freedom, and that, with the loyal people of the country, he will never rest satisfied until the last shackle of slavery is stricken from the limbs of every being who bears the image of God, whether white or black, and until our country, now "rent with civil feuds and drenched with fraternal blood," is, by the total extinction of slavery, restored to permanent peace, prosperity, happiness, and greatness. It is because they have an abiding faith that he will never enslave and disgrace this great country, by submitting to a peace on any terms other than such as shall be dictated by the Government, terms which shall include the absolute, unconditional submission of the rebels to the lawful authority of the Government; terms which vindicate the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws of the United States over every foot of the national domain, from the Passamaquaddy to the Rio Grande; terms that shall place the leading traitors of the South, with their aiders and abettors in Kentucky and the free States, in a condition that they must either quit the country, or leave the world; for it matters but little whether they take up their abode in some remote corner of the earth, there to suffer the pangs of a guilty conscience, or go directly to the kingdom prepared for them, there to be governed by the devil and his angels. In short, the loyal people of the country feel

that they can trust Abraham Lincoln to carry out the principles of the Baltimore platform. They have confidence that he will take the slaves of the wealthy traitors of Kentucky and place them in the army, to do battle for the Union; thereby relieving and assisting the poor, loyal, patriotic sons of that State in their determined struggle to save the Government, and preserve the integrity of this great country; that he will faithfully and zealously make efficacious the resolution in the platform in regard to Federal affairs, as well in Kentucky and elsewhere as at the National Capital. And I tell you, my fellow-citizens, he will do these things. I tell you, too, that Kentucky will ratify the nominations of the Baltimore Convention, in November next, by an overwhelming majority. That noble old Commonwealth, in whose soil repose the bones of her illustrious Clay, will no longer be disgraced and cursed with neutrality—milk and water politicians, who, whilst they profess to be for their Government, and are enjoying its protection and its blessings, are, at the same time, quietly doing every thing in their power to aid the more meanly, treasonable enemies of the country to destroy the Union.

Fellow-citizens, I speak particularly of Kentucky, because I am a Kentuckian. I speak warmly, because I feel warmly, on this subject.

But the loyal people feel that they cannot only trust Abraham Lincoln as their great civil captain, but, also, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy. And thus, with such Marshals in the field as Grant, and Meade, and Hancock, and Burnside, and Butler, and Sherman, and Thomas, and McPherson, and a long list of others like them, with the brave and patriotic soldiers under their command; and with such admirals upon the waters as Farragut and Porter and a host of others, with the brave and gallant seamen under them, speedy success is certain, both by land and by sea. The stars and stripes are bound to float triumphantly "over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens."

Any why, fellow-citizens, have the loyal

people of this country nominated Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for the second office in their gift, with a unanimity nearly equal to that with which they have re-nominated the distinguished incumbent of the first office? It is because his untiring and unswerving devotion to his country has proven him worthy to be trusted; and because he, with his East Tennessee brethren, has gone through a fearful, fiery ordeal, and has come out of the furnace purer and brighter metal. It is because that, notwithstanding he is a citizen of a slaveholding and rebellious State, the loyal people have confidence, from his noble conduct since the commencement of the rebellion, he will stand by and support them and the President in their determination that treason, slavery, and copperheadism shall be overthrown, and damned to eternal infamy.

In a word, all have unlimited confidence in the ability and integrity of Andrew Johnson, and that he will support and sustain the glorious principles enunciated in the platform.

And now, fellow-citizens, in conclusion, we have only to sustain the Government in its noble efforts to suppress the rebellion; to maintain the enlightened financial policy so happily inaugurated, and so successfully carried out by the far-seeing and lofty-minded statesman at the head of our financial affairs; to do our whole duty in the coming contest; and with Lincoln and Johnson as our standard bearers, victory will perch upon our banners at the ballot-box and in the field, and with victory will come peace, prosperity, happiness, grandeur, glory, and renown.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Committee "on Speakers" addressed the following letter to a number of distinguished statesmen in various sections of the country :

Among those who responded to the invitation were Hon. J. G. Blaine, of Maine, Hon. Thos. H. Hicks, and Hon. Thos. Swann, of Maryland. A telegraphic answer was received from Wm. H. Smith, of Ohio, Private Secretary of Gov. Brough.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
June 11, 1864.

SIR: We have the honor, in behalf of the Union organization which we represent, to invite you to be present at a meeting of loyal citizens to be held in this city, on Wednesday evening, the 15th instant, for the ratification of the nominations of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next, and to request that you will address the people who may be convened on that occasion.

Very respectfully, yours,
JOSEPH H. BARRETT, }
GREEN ADAMS, } Committee.
WILLIAM A. COOK, }

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
June 13, 1864.

GENTLEMEN: The condition of my throat is such that I am not allowed to speak in the open air; otherwise I should be most happy to take part in the meeting to ratify the nominations recently made at Baltimore—nominations which will inevitably secure the support of a large majority of the loyal voters in this country.

Thanking you for the invitation, I remain,
Your obedient servant,

J. G. BLAINE.

HON. GREEN ADAMS, and others.

SENATE CHAMBER,
June 17, 1864.

GENTLEMEN: Your favor of the 11th instant, inviting me to be present "at a meeting of loyal citizens to be held in this city on Wednesday, the 15th instant, for the ratification of the nominations of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson," has just reached me, being returned from Cambridge, my Post Office at home, where it had been sent, not knowing that I had left that place.

Unable to attend the meeting as indicated, by means of affliction, had the notice been received, I must be allowed to say that none united in heart and feeling in ratifying the nomination of Messrs. Lincoln and Johnson

more than I do, and no one is more anxious for their election than am I.

Accept my thanks for compliment paid and believe me to be,

Most respectfully, yours,
THOMAS H. HICKS.

JOSEPH H. BARRETT, }
GREEN ADAMS, } Committee.
WILLIAM A. COOK, }

BALTIMORE, June 13, 1864.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your letter of the 11th instant, inviting me to be present and address the people at a meeting of loyal citizens to be assembled in Washington on Wednesday next, for the ratification of the nominations of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States.

I regret extremely that imperative engagements at the North will prevent me from being present on the occasion.

Be pleased to accept my cordial good wishes for the success of your meeting, and, at the same time, permit me to assure you of the confidence I feel in the honesty, patriotism and uncompromising devotion of the distinguished nominees of the National Union Convention, and my determination to give them a cordial support.

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,
THOMAS SWANN.

To Messrs.
J. W. BARRETT, }
G. ADAMS, } Committee.
W. A. COOK, }

COLUMBUS, June 14, 1864.

TO HON. JOS. H. BARRETT, *Commissioner of Penitents*:

SIR: Your invitation to Governor Brough to be present at the ratification meeting finds him absent from the State. Rest assured, however, of his sympathy with its object, and of his hearty coöperation in the labor of the coming campaign. In the election of Lincoln and Johnson lies the safety of the country and the completion of the good work already begun.

WM. H. SMITH,
Private Secretary.

APPENDIX.

Resolutions of the Grand National Council of the Union League of America, adopted in Baltimore June 6, 1864.

1st. *Resolved*, That we will support the Administration in the vigorous prosecution of the war, to the complete and final suppression of the rebellion, and to this we pledge all our energies and efforts.

2nd. *Resolved*, That slavery, being the cause of the rebellion and the bond of union among traitors, ought to be abolished without delay; and it is the sense of this organization that slavery, in all its forms, should be prohibited by an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

3rd. *Resolved*, That we hereby approve of the principles involved in the policy known as the Monroe doctrine.

4th. *Resolved*, That the confiscation acts of Congress should be promptly and vigorously enforced, and that homesteads on the lands confiscated under it, should be granted to our soldiers and others who have been

made indigent by the acts of traitors and rebels.

5th. *Resolved*, That every person who bears arms in defence of the national flag is entitled, without distinction of color or nationality, to the protection of the government he defends to the full extent of that government's power.

6th. *Resolved*, That we hereby tender our thanks to the soldiers of the army and the sailors of the navy.

7th. *Resolved*, That it is the unqualified sentiment of the Union League of America that no man ought to be retained in or appointed to any office, be the same high or low, under the National Government, who does not fully sympathize with, and who would not heartily support, by word and deed, the foregoing resolutions.


Resolutions endorsing Mr. Lincoln and Johnson, passed June 8, 1864.

Resolved, That this National Council of the Union League of America hereby most heartily approves and endorses the nominations made by the Union National Convention at Baltimore, on the 8th of June, 1864, of Abraham Lincoln for President, and of Andrew Johnson for Vice President of the United States; and as we are bound by our obligation to do all in our power to elect true and reliable Union men to all offices, and as the nominees of said Con-

vention are the only candidates that can hope to be elected as loyal men, we regard it as the imperative duty of the members of the Union League to do all that lies in their power to secure their election.

Resolved, That this Council also earnestly approves and endorses the Platform of Principles adopted by said Convention.

Resolved, That we will as individuals and as members of the Union League, do all in our power to elect said candidates.

 The speech of Hon. A. W. Randall has not been furnished the Executive Committee, and hence is not published. It was a clear and forcible vindication of the Nominees of the Baltimore Convention, and the policy of the Administration.

U. L. of A.



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